

Telegram (Secret Cipher Process)

Tokyo, 31 December 1939. 1220 hrs.
Arrival: 31 " " 0300 hrs.

No. 797 of 30 December.

+ with W.

++ with W.

With reference to wire report No. +791) of 29
December and No. 777++) of 18 December.

Japanese national leaders are working at year-end under strongest foreign and domestic political pressure. The three big problems of Japanese foreign policy, solution China question, understanding with America, agreement with Russia, unsolved. Announcement opening Yangtze from Nanking has not effected desired change of American attitude. American Ambassador brought forward new demands with the obvious goal of the independence and commercial freedom of China, at least of Central and South China. He is said to have demanded chiefly: Gradual withdrawal of troops with limitation of 8 garrisons in North China, guarantee of Open Door and treaty rights of foreign powers with dissolution of the monopolistic Japanese Development Company. American attitude called forth disappointment after initially exaggerated expectations fostered by purposive optimism /of the/ government. In order to evade American pressure /the/ idea has cropped up again in certain circles (-----group garbled) of solving the China conflict by concessions to Chiang Kai-Shek possibly to negotiate for peace with him on /condition of/ surrender /of/ KONOYE Declaration and to use Wang Ching-wei in this connection only as a go-between. Army, especially China Army /,/ still resolved, however, to form new Central Government under Wang Ching-wei, although latter (apparently is demanding missing) far-reaching independence and is struggling against serious personnel difficulties.

Negotiations with Russia were limited to details (delimitation of Manchurian border, fishery treaty) without touching on basic problems of Japanese-Russian agreement especially relationship of Russia to China. Petty Russian counter-demands such as payment /of/ residual debt /of/ 6 million yen from South Manchurian

Railroad /TN: sic, not by and not North/ are causing difficulties.

In domestic politics surprising drive of 270 out of a total of 466 Diet members has created new situation. Drive pushed by all small parties and numerous representatives of principal parties, who came to the Diet opening from the electoral districts under direct impression of dangerous popular feeling. Popular feeling caused by foreign trade policy, deterioration of food and supply situation as a result of China war, especially rise in rice prices and failure of government in distribution of necessities of life. Cabinet decided, it is reported, to remain in office despite action of Diet majority and is trying to split opposition group by negotiations /with/ party leaders.

Party leaders hardly prepared, however, for opposition to action of their fraction members for then further party splits threaten. Resignation of the cabinet middle of January before reassembling of Diet therefore generally expected. Also pro-Anglo-Saxon press is beginning to give up cabinet, which it had hitherto (---1 group garbled) in spite of all mistakes. (---2 groups garbled) court circles, which hold of their (---1 group garbled) cabinet, visibly shaken. Court circles according to new information endeavoring to prepare for concentration /TN: Coalition/ cabinet with participation of the Diet parties in order to head off basic change in course /policy/. /TN: abzufangen may be a typing error for anzufangen, in which case substitute inaugurate for head off./ General Ugaki, there known as Foreign Minister of Konoye Cabinet is mentioned as Prime Minister.

Since foreign political pressure and serious domestic contradictions continue, a /national/ concentration cabinet capable of action /TN: the first three letters of the word cabinet were typed and crossed out and concentration cabinet substituted/ or complete alignment /TN: ANSCHLUSS/ with one of the European groups of powers is for the present not to be expected. In the view of Ambassadors Oshima and Shiratori, who are working hard for the overthrow of the present cabinet two or three transitional cabinets are still required to bring about a thoroughgoing change in course.

Same text Shanghai and Hsineking /sic/.

OTT

Frame Nos. 136212-15

Drawn up in 19 copies,
of which:

- No. 1 to Pol VIII (working copy)
- No. 2 to R F Minister
- " 3 " State Secretary
- " 4 " Chief, Auslands-Organization
- " 5 " B.R.A.M. /B. not clear; R.A.M. is Reich For. Min./
- " 6 " Under State /Secretary/, Pol.
- " 7 " U. St. /Sec./ Law
- " 8 " Director Personnel
- " 9 " Dg. Pol. /meaning?/
- " 10 " Director W /?/
- " 11 " Dg. " /?/
- " 12 " Dg. Law
- " 13 " Dir. Culture
- " 14 " Dg. "
- " 15 " Dir. Press
- " 16 " Div. of Protocol
- " 17 " Germany Desk
- " 18 " Party Desk
- " 19 " Personal Staff (Hewel /?/)

This is No. 3.

/TN: Words omitted in original for economy in telegraphing
also omitted here./

JAP

Acc 4046-45

電 報 (極秘 暗號)

東京 一九三九年十二月三十一日

十二時二十分 發 信

受 信 同年同月三十一日三時〇〇分

十二月三十日附第七九七號

十二月二十九日附電報第七九一號

十二月十八日附第七七七號

++ 氣付

日本ノ國家指導部ハ年末ニ際シ外政内政兩面ニ於ケル最苛烈ナ緊張ノ裡ニ其任務ヲ遂行シテイル。日本ノ外交政策ニ於ケル三ツノ重要問題、即チ中國問題解決、亞米利加／＼AMERICAトノ了解、露西亞／＼RUSSIAトノ協調、是等ノモノガ懸案トナツテイル。南京／＼NANKING／＼下流ニ於ケル揚子江／＼YANGTSE／＼ノ開放聲明ハ既ニ期待サレタル如キ。亞米利加ノ態度變更ヲ齎ラスニ至ラナカツタ。亞米利加大使ハ明カニ中國ノ、敵クトモ華中及華南ノ獨立ト貿易ノ自由ヲ目的トスル新タナ若干ノ要

求ヲ提議シタ。彼ハ主トシテ、華北ニ於ケル守備
 部隊ヲ八部隊ニ制限スル條件ノ下ニ軍隊ノ漸次的
 撤退並ビニ日本ノ獨占的振興會社ヲ解散ノ上、門
 戶開放及名列強ノ條約上ノ權利ニ對スル保證ヲ要
 求シタトノ趣。亞米利加ノ態度ハ政府ノ故チノ樂
 觀的觀測ニヨリ醸成サレタル當初ノ大キナ期待ノ
 後ヲ承ケテ失望ヲ齎ラシタ。亞米利加ノ壓迫ヲ回
 避スルタメ蔣介石／CHANG KAI-SHEK／ニ對シ若干
 ノ讓歩ヲ與ヘテ中國事變ノ解決ヲ計ルベシ、出來
 得ベクンバ近衛／KONOYE／聲明ヲ撤回シタ上デ、
 彼ト和平交渉ヲ行フベシ、而シテ此ニ關聯シ王精
 衛／WANG CHING WEI／ヲ單ニ仲介者トシテ利用スベシ
 トノ考ガ再ビ某方面ニ於テ擡頭シテイル（……
 句缺）（多分「ヲ要求シテ居リ」ガ缺ケテイル）
 王精衛／WANG CHING WEI／ハ廣汎ナ自主性且ツ人的
 要素ノ點デ大キナ障礙ト依然圖ツテイルノデア
 ルガ、陸軍、殊ニ在華陸軍ハ勿論今日迄依然トシテ
 王精衛／WANG CHING WEI／ノ傘下ニ新中央政府ヲ樹
 立シヤワトイフ決意ヲ抱イテイル。

Doc 40 46-45

露西亞トノ交渉ヘ、日露協定ノ原則問題、特ニ露
西亞ノ對中國諸事ニ關レルコトナク、細目的事項（
（滿洲ノ國境劃定、漁業條約）ニ限定サレテイル、
南滿洲鐵道ノ未償還債額六百萬圓ノ仕拂ノ如キ償還
ナ露西亞側ノ對抗的要求若干ガ障礙トナツテイル。

内政方面テハ、總數四百六十六名ノ衆議員議員中
二百七十名ノ突如トシテ行ヘレタ歐起テ新タナル情
勢ガ影響サレタ。此行動ハ小黨派ノ總テ、及議會ノ
開會ニ當リ各選舉區カラ腹懸ナ兵艦ノ直接ノ影響下
ニヤツテ來タ大政黨ノ多數所屬議員ニヨツテ行ヘレ
タ。一般兵艦ハ對外貿易政策、對華戰爭ノ結果トシ
テノ食糧及物資補給事情ノ惡化、殊ニ米價昂騰及生
活必需物資配給上ノ政府ノ無能ナ信實ニ因リ招來サ
レタモノデアル。報スルトコロニヨルト、内閣ハ議
會多數派ノカ、ル行動ニモ拘ハラズ、其地位ニ固マ
ル決意ヲシテ居リ、各黨領袖トノ折衝ヲ通シテ、反
政府グループヲ切崩ソウト努カシテイル。

併シ、黨領袖連ヘソノ所屬議員ノ行動ヲ抑止スル
ハ、更ラニ黨ノ分裂ヲ來タステアラウコトヲ懼レテ
ソウシタ指針ニ出ル氣持ヘニナツテナイ。ソレ故一
月中旬、議會ノ再開前ニ内閣ガ後退スルモノト一説
ニ予想サレテイル。親英米語新聞紙モ此内閣ヲ凡
ニル批政ニモ拘ハラズ從來（一旬株）一箇念シ出シ
タ。

4

(二句缺) 彼等ノ(一旬缺)ニヨリ内閣ヲ支持シ
ヤウトシテキル官中万面テハ明カニ愕然トシタリ
タ。最近ノ話情報ニヨルト官中万面テハ根本的ナ變
革ヲ避ケル々メニ、議會各派ノ参加ヲ得テ聯立内閣
ヲ準備シヤウト努メシテイルトコロデアル。近衛ノ
KONOKE / 内閣ノ外相トシテ、ソチラデモ知ラレテキ
ル宇垣ノ UGAKI / 大尉ガ總理大臣トシテ指名サレテ
キル。

外政上カラ來ル壓刀及國內ノ奇烈ナ對立ガ依然
存在スルノデ、實行刀ノアル聯立内閣或ヒハ歐洲諸
國ノ一ツト結ブコトハ現在ノトコロ殆ンド期待出來
ナイ。現内閣打倒ニ強刀ニ推進シツツアル大島ノ
SHIMA / 白鳥ノ SHIRATORI / 兩大使ノ見解ニヨルト
根本的ナ變革ヲ誘致スルニハ尙二、三ノ過渡的內閣
ヲ必要トスルデアラウトノコトデアル。

上海ノ SHANGHAI / 及新京ノ SHINGKING /
同文通牒

オットノ OTT /

Doc 4046-45

Doc 4046-45

十九部作製

其ノ内

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 第一 | ハ | 政第八號（使用原本）ハ、 |
| 第二 | ハ | R F 大臣ハ、 |
| 第三 | ハ | 國務長官ハ、 |
| 第四 | ハ | A O 長ハ、 |
| 第五 | ハ | B、R、A、M / B 不詳、R A M ハ 獨外
相 / ハ、 |
| 第六 | ハ | 國務次官、政、ハ |
| 第七 | ハ | 國務次官、法、ハ |
| 第八 | ハ | 人事局長ハ、ハ |
| 第九 | ハ | D G、政、ハ |
| 第十 | ハ | W 長官ハ、ハ |
| 第十一 | ハ | D G、W、ハ |
| 第十二 | ハ | D G、法、ハ |
| 第十三 | ハ | 文化局長ハ、ハ |
| 第十四 | ハ | D G、文化ハ、ハ |
| 第十五 | ハ | 新聞局長ハ、ハ |
| 第十六 | ハ | 議定書局長ハ、ハ |
| 第十七 | ハ | 獨室ハ、ハ |
| 第十八 | ハ | 黨室ハ、ハ |
| 第十九 | ハ | 秘書部ハ、ハ |

本書ハ第三ナリ。